

# THE ARCHIVE

A COLLECTION OF PAPERS PERTAINING TO  
PHILIPPINE LINGUISTICS

---

PAPER No. 7

1929

---

## THE SAMBALI DIALECT OF BOLINAO

BY

FELIZBERTO B. VIRAY and OTTO SCHEERER

Seminar of Philippine Linguistics  
University of the Philippines

---

EDITED BY OTTO SCHEERER  
and published with funds of the  
UNIVERSITY OF THE PHILIPPINES  
MANILA

# THE ARCHIVE

PAPER No. 7

1929

## THE SAMBALI DIALECT OF BOLINAO

By

FELIZBERTO B. VIRAY and OTTO SCHEERER

*Seminar of Philippine Linguistics, U. P.*

One of the aims of the Seminar in Philippine Linguistics being to record through annotated texts the smaller units of Philippine speech, such work must obviously occupy itself preferentially with those dialects which are on the point of being wiped out by neighboring stronger languages, in order that their structure may be preserved for future studies.

From this point of view no little interest attaches to that group of closely related and as yet very little studied dialects which are spoken in the province called by the Spaniards "Zambales" (presumably from a native \**sambali*, comprehension of groups of houses<sup>1</sup>). This province, which forms the westernmost part of the island of Luzon (see sketch map following) was constituted in early Spanish times by a southern portion called "Tugui," and a northern part which was Zambales proper. Of this latter an important town was Bolinao, originally located on the island of Binabalyan which marks the southern entrance to the Gulf of Lingayen and is now called Santiago Island. Bolinao was later transferred to the mainland of Luzon, just opposite to the island mentioned, where it became more widely known through being made the landing place of the cable from Hongkong to Manila.

The whole stretch of country referred to, Tugui as well as Zambales proper, may be supposed to have once been characterized by what might be called a Sambali stock language,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Bol. *balá*, house; *babalá*, town; Panó. *baley*, town village.



SKETCH SHOWING LOCATION OF BOLINAO AND VICINITY

a speech now evidenced only by a number of closely allied dialects. Chief among these dialects we discern the Aeta-Sambali around the town of Botolan in the south, a more centrally located dialect sometimes called Tina, and a third which forms the subject matter of the present paper, namely, the dialect of Bolinao in the north, also called the Binobolinaw. But all forms of Sambali speech are at present being modified and gradually supplanted by Tagalog from the south and Iloko from the north. The Binobolinaw moreover—we use for it hereafter the sign Bol.—which is spoken by about 10,000 people living in the municipalities of Bolinao, Anda, Bani, Agno and a few other places, has fallen under the influence of the language of Pañgasinán in the east, to which province the whole northern part of Zambales, including the towns mentioned, was transferred in 1903 for administrative exigencies. It can be roughly stated that to-day Bani speaks only for about one-half Binobolinaw, while the other half speaks Iloko or Pañgasinán; in Agno the proportion is even less favorable for the home dialect, being roughly one-third for this and two-thirds for the other two languages, while in Bolinao and Anda a majority still remains faithful to the speech of their forefathers. This inter-

mixture of dialects accounts for the presence in Bol. of a considerable number of outside elements.

The present paper brings three texts as samples of the dialect in question, supplemented by notes on its phonology, lexicon and grammar. In annotating the texts we were subject to certain limitations. We had to seek our information mainly from such members of this speech group as could be communicated with in Manila. In trying to establish standard forms, we were baffled by that unstableness that characterizes dialects not taught in school and lacking the stabilizing influence of a written literature. Of older publications in or on Bol. the only ones known to us by their titles are those listed by Dr. Pardo de Tavera in his "Biblioteca Filipina" under No. 803 and No. 1307, both being books written by Spanish priests of the Recolect Order. Of manuscripts concerning this dialect is to be mentioned the "Arte de la Lengua Sambala y Española" kept in the archive of the Augustinians and stated to have been written by a priest of that order (P. Estéban Marín) in the year 1601. Two modern books touching Bol. are cited further on in this paper.

In the following we give, in the first place, some notes on several characteristic points of Bol. phonology; thereafter one of those popular stories in which the artful monkey is made to play, in dealing with other animals, a prominent though not always very creditable part. We owe this text to Miss Rosario Viray of Anda who moreover kindly furnished us the best part of the information contained in our notes. The verses from "Cantos Escolares" then following are part of a series collected and graciously placed at our disposal by Miss Paz Reynoso of Alaminos. They are a testimony of the vehement desire for intellectual advancement animating Filipino youth even in remote corners of the country. The third text is a description of the first settling of the island of Kabaruyan with its town Anda, arranged from an old manuscript in the presidencia of that town by Mr. Vicente Cacho, ex-president of said municipality, and furnished us by his relative, Atty. Eudocio Cacho of Manila. The fact that all our texts originate from Anda makes them reflect what localisms distinguish that town from Bolinao on the mainland; several such peculiarities have been noted at the proper places and as they often show a fuller form for Anda we have a confirmation of the statement made by some natives of Bolinao to the effect that Anda speaks a more old-fashioned dialect.

Our endeavor to render the English version of the texts as nearly literal as possible may excuse the oddity of that version.

Some grammatical notes conclude the paper.

### NOTES ON PHONOLOGY

In the method of transcribing the Bol. sounds we adhere on the whole to the phonetic writing employed in Mr. Viray's paper on "The Sounds and Sound Symbols of the Pañgasinán Language" (Paper No. 5 of this series).

**Vowels.**—The vowels *e* and *i*, as well as *o* and *u*, of which *e* and *o* are quite open, are not clearly distinguished from one another by the dialect. In transcribing them we follow the orthography of our informants which evinces a preference for *e* and *o* where other dialects have *i* and *u*. The indistinct (or 'pepet') vowel of original Indonesian is represented most commonly by a sound fluctuating between *e* and *æ*,<sup>2</sup> e. g. *atép* or *atép*, thatched roof (Tag. *atip*); *leey* or *leæy*, neck (Tag. *liig*); but quite often also *a* is found, so in *anæm*, six, *raboñg*, sprout, *balkás*, bundle, *olay*, snake; less often *o* as in *bogsay*, oar, *obát*, answer, and in words where it appears assimilated to another *o* as in *tolo*, three. In a number of words it appears that the town of Bolinao favors a truly indistinct vowel (symbol: *ə*) where Anda pronounces *o*; e. g. Bolinao *masəroy*, pointed, = Anda *masoroy*; Bolinao *yadsín*, there, = Anda *yadsón*. Elision of the *pepet* is of frequent occurrence, thus in *napnó*, full (Tag. *punô*), *mabsóy*, satiated (Tag. *busóg*); in *bias*, grain of rice, the *i* may be supposed to have arisen from a fuller form \**boyas* through elision of the *pepet* *o*; compare Tag. *bigás*, Pañg. *bælás* for the same meaning. The diphthong *ay* of other dialects which is present also in Bol., is here found in some words, and most often in final position, contracted to a stereotyped *-i*: compare Bol. *sakí* (Text I, 3) and Pañg. *sakáy*, navigate; *natí* (I, 14) and Tag. *patáy*, Pañg. *inatáy*, dead; Bol. *balí*, house, and Ilk. *baláy*, id., Pañg. *balæy*, town, village.

<sup>2</sup> *æ* as in German "wölben," French "neuf."

**Consonants.**—An interesting Bol. consonant is *r*. In his "Indonesian L in Philippine languages" (JAOS, xxxvi, 1916, p. 187) Conant, in discussing Sambali dialects, lays down the following rules:

"One of these [dialects], that spoken in and around the village of Bolinao, regularly changes original *l* to *r*. It also regularly has *r* in all cases where the other Sambali dialects have (sic) a non-original *l*."

He bases these rules on a comparative word-list given in W. A. Reed's "Negritos of Zambales" (Ethn. Surv. Publ., II, 1, Manila 1904) which comprises among 100 words eight showing Bol. *r* for original *l*, and four showing Bol. *r* for *l* of the RLD series. Reed, who, to judge from his itinerary, did not visit the Bolinao region personally, prefaces his vocabulary among others with the remark:

"The chief difference between the Bolinao dialect and that of the region south is the substitution of the letter *r* in the former for *l*; as in *arong* for *along*, nose; *díra* for *díla*, tongue."

The present writers derive their information on the point in question from a number of natives of Bolinao and Anda. Their informants, adult members of prominent families, had never heard the eight vocables of Conant's first rule, viz. *oro*, head, *díra*, tongue, *rañgit*, sky, *buran*, moon, *taro*, three, *karo*, eight; *ríma*, five, *puro*, ten, pronounced otherwise than *olo*; *díla*, *lañgit*, *bulan*, *toló*, *walo*, *limá*, *pulo*. Mr. Claudio Viray, a Pañgasinán, since 15 years a resident of Anda, of which he is the municipal treasurer, stated that a considerable number of words now pronounced with *l* throughout the Bolinao region were formerly pronounced with *r*, the change being attributed by him to the influence of Iloko and Pañgasinán. We have made a point of tracing the Bol. sounds here involved in the tables given by Dempwolff in his "Die L-, R- und D-Laute in austronesischen Sprachen" (Zeitschrift f. Eingeb. Spr., xv, 1, 1925). Restricting ourselves to the most evident correspondencies, we found at the first glance that as many as 44 of the words given by said author for original Austronesian L could be covered by Bol. cognates, and that 38 of these are pronounced with *l* and only three with *r*, while the remaining three show irregularities. But also the *r* in the three words just mentioned is but the assimi-

tion of original *l* to another *r* contained in the same word, so that, according to our investigation, Bol. as spoken now-a-days does not "regularly change original *l* to *r*," but, as a rule, retains original *l*.

Upon looking over the other sound categories established by Dempwolff in his work mentioned, we obtained at first glance the following results: We found

- For the RL sound 16 Bol. cognates, 8 of which show R (1 *r*-, 4 *-r*-, 3 *-r*); 7 L (1 *l*-, 4 *-l*-, 2 *-l*), and 1 with two D (*kodkod*);
- For the RG sound 37 Bol. cognates, viz. 23 with Y (3 *y*-, 13 *-y*-, 7 *-y*); 8 with G (6 *-g*-, 2 *-g*); 4 with R (2 *r*-, 2 *-r*); 2 with L (2 *-l*);
- For the D sound 18 Bol. cognates, viz. 11 with D (3 *d*-, 5 *-d*-, 3 *-d*); 7 with R (4 *r*-, 1 *-r*-, 2 *-r*);
- For the D' sound 10 Bol. cognates, viz. 4 *d*-, 6 *-d*;
- For the DL sound 7 Bol. cognates, viz. 5 R (2 *r*-, 3 *-r*); 2 D (2 *-d*);
- For the DG sound 7 Bol. cognates, viz. 6 R (6 *-r*); 1 D (1 *-d*).

Judging from these figures, which show *r* playing a representative part in 30 out of 95 words examined, this consonant continues to be even now characteristic of the dialect and recalls, by the notable way in which it is trilled, a remark made by P. Blas de San Damián in his "Gramática y Vocabulario Tina," a manuscript of the year 1755, in which he incidentally mentions "las rr duras del Norte" de Zambales.

A peculiarity of Bol. are the frequent elisions of sounds from words occurring in fuller form in other dialects. Cases of the elision of the pepet have already been given above, but occur also in other dialects due to the weakness of this sound. More remarkable is the elision, or absorption by neighboring sounds, of *y* as main representative of Dempwolff's RG sound. Instances of such cases are, besides above cited *bias*, grain of rice, *mabiát*, heavy, Pañg. *ambaelát*, Tag. *mabigát* (UAN. *bəgat*); *ibí*, object of giving, Pamp. *ib-biay*, Tag. *ibigay* (UAN. *bəgay*). The elision of a sound is often marked by a glottal check, especially in case of a final sound, as in: *kapi-sà*, cousin, Pañg. *kapinsan*; *bakè*, monkey, Pañg. *bakies*; *karatè*, arrival, Pañg. *daténg* (UAN. *datən*). This last example may further serve to show that the curtailed ending remains unaltered when a suffix is added; thus the stem of *karatè* being *ratè*, the addition of *-en* gives in Anda *ratè-en*, though in Bolinao the new generation pronounces this *rat-æn*. Another instance of shortening in the speech of Bolinao occurs when the stem *ratè* is infixed with *-in-* plus *-om-*, which in Anda gives *rinomatè*, but in the former town *rinmatè*.

How the glottal check substituted for an elided sound may come to constitute a grammatical distinction is seen in the example of *à-nak*, children, the plural form of *anak*, child. Whether *à-nak* goes back to *aw-anak* (*anak* plus pluralizing prefix (*aw-*), or to *\*aanak*, a form not now existing in Bol., remains doubtful. But not in all cases has elision come to establish fixed forms. While, for instance, a word as *maabig*, what is or becomes good (I, 8), is never pronounced *\*mà-big*, there occur in Text I the forms *màkít* (Perf. *naakit*), what is seen or found (I, 7, 8, 11, 12, 14) alternating with *mà-kít* (Perf. *nà-kít*) for the same meaning (I, 2, 3, 10, 14).

Of other peculiarities of Bol. phonology may be mentioned the tendency to break up certain words by the insertion of a hiatus. Thus Pañg. and Ilk. *bwaya*, crocodile, becomes Bol. *bu-aya*; Pañg. *masamít*, sweet, and *tabóy*, jump down, are in Bol. *masam-ít* and *tà-boy*. Compare, reversedly, Pañg. *to-ó* person, and *bá-y*, grandmother, with their Bol. equivalents *tawo* and *baye*. In some Bol. loan-words from Spanish which end in *-a* the insertion of a gliding *w* is to be noted before suffix *-an* (and *-en*), although Bol. appears to have no objection to the sequence of two *a*; compare *Kabuñgaan* (III, 35) with *eskwelawán* (II, 3) from Span. 'escuela', school; similarly *alsawen* (III, 128) from Span. 'alzar', to lift.

## TEXTS

### I

#### MABAYANI A BU-AYA TAN MASIRIB A BAKÈ

1. Main sayay bakè tan sayay  
bu-aya. Sin ni-sà si bakè  
ampirurigrig ya sa pandól  
nan ilog.

### I

#### THE BRAVE CROCODILE AND THE ARTFUL MONKEY

1. There were a monkey and a  
crocodile. At one time  
the monkey was walking  
along the edge of the  
water under the bank of  
a river.

1. *Main* predicates only existence, leaving here past time to be understood.  
*sayay* from *saya*, one, plus ligature *y*.  
*ampirurigrig*, stem *rigrig*, edge of water, in Pañg. *gilig*; *ampirurigrig* appears to be a localism of Anda, as Bolinao says *ampañgrigrig*.

2. Lalakó yá nan lalakó a ma-  
 niñgkáp nin kanén na: 2. He was walking and walking  
 searching for his food.  
 Sin kasán ma-kiit na ra-  
 bay na yá makó sa robari-  
 nan ilóg ta litáw yá na-  
 mangkit nin kanén na;  
 balé kasán taytay. Pa-nó  
 ma-ka-sí nin romobari?  
 (Lit. What was his chance for  
 crossing over?)

2. *maniñgkáp*, stem *tiñgkáp*, look, search; *tiñgkápán ko ya*, search-  
 ing for my object mine (is) it; *ita*, do; *ita*, do; *ita*, do.  
*kasán*, from *kasá*, nothing, none, plus ligature, *na*, you have said  
*makó*, go, *makó*, went; *Makó ka?* Do you go?—*O makó ko*, yes,  
 I go.  
*ma-kiit*, *maakit*, *mangkit*, stem *akit*, see, find; cf. Pam. *akit*, id.  
*pa-nó*, how; Tag. *paano*, id.

3. Sin kainsanan si mabayanin  
 bu-aya linomtáw ya tan  
 nakó ya sa rigrig. Rabáy  
 na yan siriban a kanén si  
 baké. Sin ná-kiit na ya si  
 baké, wa na: "Amigo,  
 isaki mo ko pa sa robari ta  
 makabayad akó sa raru-  
 man awro."  
 3. Shortly afterwards the brave  
 crocodile came up to the  
 surface and went to the  
 water's edge. His desire  
 was to make the monkey  
 his prey (lit. "food") by  
 a trick. When seeing him  
 the monkey said: "Friend,  
 just convey me to the other  
 side and I shall be able to  
 pay (you) at some day."

3. *linomtáw* from stem *\*lotáw*, float, with infixes *in* and *om*.  
*siriban*, stem *sirib*, trick.  
*wá*, say, think; *wa mo thy say*; *wa na*, his say; but, with ligature,  
*wan ko*, my say; *wan ra*, their say; *ani wa mo?* what do you  
 say (think)?  
*isaki*, what is conveyed in a vehicle or boat; stem *saki*, Tag. *sakáy*.  
*ko*, here short for *akó*, I.

4. Si bu-aya niki-ó ya nin tam-  
 pór ta say wa na kanén  
 na ya si baké no itáw sa-  
 ráy na sa botláy nan ilóg.  
 Rinmorán yá na si baké  
 sa gurot ni bu-aya tan pi-  
 nasyán andá nin panpisakí  
 ra.  
 4. The crocodile consented at  
 once, for his idea was to  
 eat the monkey when there  
 they in the middle of the  
 river. The monkey was  
 riding already on the back  
 of the crocodile and thoro  
 was the pleasure of their  
 joint ride.

4. *niki-ó*, lit. said yes; *iki-ó mo ko*, say yes for me.  
*rinmorán*, stem *rorán*, cargo, load; *rinmorán akó*, I shall ride;  
*maroran*, what can be carried as load; Pañg. *lugán*, putting  
 something into a receptacle.  
*pinasyá* + lig. *n*, cf. Pañg. *pasyá*, doing something thoroly; *pina-  
 syák a kinabit si Juan*, I gave Juan a good thrashing.

5. Sin karatô ra sa botláy nin  
 ilóg, wa na ni bu-aya:  
 "Kai mo tandà a rabáy-  
 rabáy koy agtáy mo? Sa-  
 wanín ani ma ñg ya di  
 komo?"  
 5. Upon their arrival at the  
 middle of the river the  
 crocodile said: "Do you  
 not know that I desire very  
 much your liver? Now,  
 what will happen to you?"

5. *karatô*, arrival; *romatô*, who arrives; Perf. *rinmatô*; *iratô*, what  
 is brought along on arriving; *ratô-an*, place of arrival.  
*tandà*, knowledge; *kai ko tandà*, I do not know.  
*sawanin*, now, to-day.

6. Balé si baké kai ya nama-  
 nalíngo sa ni-obát na ta-  
 man no nali-moán ya. Say  
 wa nan inombát: "Aní  
 nan kadiñ-óyan ko komo  
 a kasán maitumañg ko sa  
 serbisyo mo. Na bayat  
 koy agtáy ko'd taw sa pan-  
 dól. Somoblí atá ta kala-  
 paen ko ya."  
 6. But the monkey was not at  
 all amiss in his answer,  
 altho he was frightened.  
 What he said in reply was:  
 "What is my embarrass-  
 ment regarding you, as I  
 have no reward for your  
 service. I left my liver  
 yonder on the bank. Let  
 us return and I shall get  
 it."

6. *balé*, but; *namaót*: also, again; *nalíngó*, stem *língó*, mistake.  
*ni-obát*, what was answered; *ombát*, who answers; Perf. *inombát*,  
 Pañg. *obát*, answer.  
*nali-moan*, stem *li-mo*, fear; *kadiñ-óyan*, stem *diñg-óy*, shame.  
*maitumañg*, stem *tumañg*, reward. *Aní li itumañg ko komo no*  
*omalaki ko?* How shall I repay you when I grow up?  
*serbisyo*, Sp. 'servicio,' service.  
*'d taw*, same as *itáw*, yonder, there; *atá*, we two.

7. Rinmabáy ya si bu-aya,  
 kanyá sará sinmoblí. Sin  
 karatôra sa pandól palayô  
 ni baké. Pinasyán sagœr  
 ni bu-aya tan wa na: "Ma-  
 akít ta kan syánsyá."  
 7. The crocodile agreed, where-  
 for they returned. Upon  
 their arrival at the bank—  
 flight of the monkey.  
 Great was the anger of  
 the crocodile and he said:  
 "I shall find you anyhow."

7. *rinnabáy* Perf. of *romabáy*, who agrees, stem *rabáy*, wish, liking, *sará*, see gramm. notes, under Pronouns.

*syánsyá*, anyhow, all the same; apparently built on the demonstrative *syá* with interposed ligature *n*, the same stem being present probably in *pinasyá* (under 4). With *syánsyá* compare Germ. "so oder so."

8. Sin sayáy awro naéet naakit na ya si bakde a tinmækræ sa danín kawayan. Pina-syan andà nan siri tan sa-ráy kawayan omataæet sará. Kinmadani ya si bu-aya koni bakde tan wa na: "Maabig a boklás, bakde, aní man gaw-én mo?"

8. *naéet*, again.

*tinmækræ*, Perf. of *tomækræ*, who sits; *tækræan*, seat. *sa danín kawayan*: *dani*, proximity; compare further on *kinmadani*, Perf. of *komadani*, who approaches; *kadani ta ka*, thou art near me.

*andà nan siri*, fairness of wind.

*omataæet*, stem *ataæet*, creaking.

*maabig*, what is good, or is getting good.

*boklás*, morning; to-morrow, *diláp*.

9. Inombát ya si bakde: "Ampamantáy akó nin órgano ni adi" Si bu-aya nin pinasyán apisyón na sa músika wa na: "Kipanugtóg akó pa æedét?" Say wa na ni bakde: "Pà-no balé no masagær yay adi, cey?—" "Kaí ya masagær a adi" wa na ni bu-aya.

9. *ampamantáy*, stem *bantáy*, guard.

*apisyón* from Span. "afición," predilection.

*kipanugtóg*, stem \**tugtóg*, playing of an instrument; *ki-*, a desiderative prefix.

8. One day the monkey was again seen by him sitting near a bamboo-grove. Quite a fair wind was blowing and the bamboos creaked. The crocodile approached the monkey and said: "Good morning, monkey, what are you just doing?"

9. The monkey answered: "I am guarding the organ of the king." The crocodile, from his great fondness for music, said: "I too wish to play, please." What the monkey said was: "But how if the king will be angry, eh?—" "No, the king will not be angry" said the crocodile.

10. "Mayà æedét ta komadayô akó pigat no kaí na ko mà-kít ni adi. Balé no manugtóg ka ikwá moy gaméet mo sa botláy nin ruáy kawayan" wa na ni bakde. "O" wa na ni bu-aya.

10. *mayà!* wait a moment! *æedét*, a precativè particle.

*pigat*, in order that; an alternative form is *pigaw*.

*ikwá*, what is put; Perf. *nikwá*.

*kaí na ko mà-kit*: *kaí*, not; *na*, his; *ko* (akó), I; *mà-kit*, what can be seen.

11. Nikwá na yan pagde a gaméet na sin nalayô yay na si bakde. Napildit yay gaméet na ni bu-aya tan pinasyán sagær na. "Mayà ka" wa na, "no maakít ta ka talagá sa pitló, kanden ta ka sa olo."

11. *pagde*, truth.

*talagá* was stated to mean "truly."

*sa pitló*, for the third time; the story-teller explained it as locally customary to excuse a fault twice, but not for the third time.

12. Sin sayay yabí na naakit na ya si bakde sa tarapitsyan. Disiembre konán siín tan pinasyán kaabawan nin tubó. Nakó yay bakde nin kipanalod nin masam-ít. "Amigo" wa nay naéet ni bu-aya "aní man gaw-én mo?"

10. "One moment, please, for I shall remove some distance, so that I am not seen by the king. But when you play, put your fingers between two bamboos" said the monkey. "Yes" said the crocodile.

11. He actually inserted his fingers, when the monkey was already far. The fingers of the crocodile were crushed and great was his ire. "Wait," he said, "if I come to see you a third time, I shall devour you by the head."

12. One evening he saw the monkey at the sugar-cane mill. It was December at that time and there was an abundance of sugar-cane. The monkey had gone there from a desire to collect gratis some drippings of the sugar. "Friend" said the crocodile again, "what are you just doing?"

12. *tarapitsyan* from Span. "trapiche," sugar-cane mill.

*kaabawan*, stem *abaw*, plenty.

*kipanalod*, stem *salod*, collecting drippings of any liquid; prefix *ki-* was stated to give here the meaning both of "desire" and of "gratuitousness of the object desired."

13. "Ampamantáy akó nin bó-bón ni adi" a obát ni bakè. Si bu-aya, ta pinasyán pan-rabáy na konâ, wa na: "Abaw kasí konâ na? Mañgalap akó taná pan abír no saya, a?"

13. *konâ*, any kind of fish; Pañg. *sirá*, *abír*, only.

14. "Mayà ka cedet ta koma-dayô akó, ta pigat kai na ko mà-kít ni adi. No mañgalap ka, pakandaén mo!" wa na ni bakè. Sin kai na yay na maakít si bakè, tinmâ-boy ya si bu-aya sa kawa. Natí ya ta pina-syán amót nan masam-ít.

14. *komadayô*, stem *adayô*, far. Compare Ilk. *adayô* and Pañg. *arawí*, id.

*mañgalap*, who gets, catches.

*tinmâ-boy*, stem *tâ-boy*, jump down.

*pakandaén*, stem *kanda*, care.

13. "I am guarding the fish-pond of the king" was the answer of the monkey. The crocodile, since very fond of fishes, said: "(Are) abundant perchance his fishes? May I get even only one, eh?"

14. "Wait please, for I'll get out of the way, so that I am not seen by the king. When you catch fish, take care!" said the monkey. When the monkey was no more seen by him, the crocodile jumped into the vat. He died, because the heat of the sugar was too great.

## II

## CANTOS ESCOLARES

1

Kaodadwán a pà-sar min askwela,  
Askwela sa babalín Anda.  
Sa pagaadal nabayat kamí na,  
Ta kasá inaod itín intermédia.  
No kasán pagte a kayadian  
Gastosén sa pagaadal,  
Adios adal, gatgetán yay na  
Konán mamaririk o si apáy.

## II

PUPILS' SONGS<sup>1</sup>

1

Pitiful is our situation as pupils,  
Pupils in the town of Anda.  
In studying we are already behind,  
For, in truth, there is no middle school here.  
If there are really no means  
To defray the studying,  
Good-bye studies, let us attend  
To clearing fields or to (making) mats.

1. *kaodadwán*, pitifulness; *kadó*, pity.  
*pà-sar*, possibly the Sp. "pasar," to pass, manner of living.  
*askwela*, pupil, from Sp. "escuela," school.  
*na* means generally "already," here "now."  
*inaod* stated to correspond with Pañg. *lantá*, something patent.  
*intermédia*, intermediate school.  
*kayadian*, possibility; comp. Pañg. *nayari*, possible.  
*gastosén*, Sp. "gastos," expense, + suffix *-en*.  
*gatgetán*, that to which one's attention is confined; an alternative form was given with *gâ-getán*.  
*mamaririké*, the clearing of fields by burning down the vegetation; commonly called *kaiñgin*; *apáy*, mat.

<sup>1</sup>For a proper understanding of these songs it must be remarked that up to 1923 there was no intermediate school at Anda. After finishing the primary course, only the children of the well-to-do class were able to continue their studies in the intermediate schools of neighboring towns, while the children of the poor had to stay at home, engaging in field-work or some home-industry, a disadvantage keenly felt by the less fortunate ones. The municipality, for lack of funds, was unable to establish an intermediate school, unless voluntary contributions were forthcoming. Thus the aid of the rich people was sought, the appeal taking the form of vernacular plays and songs, the latter known as "cantos escolares." The wealthy willingly responded, and the construction of a spacious concrete school-building was the outcome. Principal among the contributors was Tomás Canta with ₱2,000—and his name was, together with those of the others, engraved by a thankful people in a bronze tablet set in the wall of the building. The occasionally somewhat vehement language of the song did, of course, not originate with the pupils, but was put in their mouth by the author, a local patriot. Note the part played in the affair by the vernacular, the Spanish, and the school language, English.



2

<p>Maóñg siráy maín magastos. Magawá ray makó sa Alaminos, O sa Bolinaw, Bani, makipospós, Ta magkanawnawa sarán masorok. No kaí kami kaodadwán, A aw-anak a kasán paginawan, Itpél mi yay nan syánsyá Añggawan min pagadalan.</p>	<p>Lucky they who have means to spend, They are able to go to Alaminos, Or to Bolinaw, or Bani, to pursue (studies), For they have ease in spending plenty. If we are not pitied, Who are children lacking relief, We shall have to endure somehow Our limited education.</p>
--	---

2. *maóñg*, good, well off; *magastos*, cf. *gastosén*, under 1.  
*magawá*, possible, able;  
*makipospós* was stated to mean both "to struggle" and "to finish"; cf. Pañg. *akipósposán ak ed bansál*, I stayed till the end at the marriage feast.  
*magkanawnawa*, comp. Pañg. *kanawanawa*, ease in spending.  
*masorok*, comp. Ilk. *sorók*, excess.  
*aw-anak*, see prefix *aw-* in grammatical notes.  
*itpél*, comp. Pañg. *itpael mo ak*, bear with me.

3

<p>Sa nakoem, inoyon kababalyán, Ipatodón mi kakarmaán. No maín labí tan pañgawánán, Ipañgwá kamín askwelawan. Ta syánsyá, no makaadal kami, Galañg yan lamaanñ nin babalí. No maín tandà min ikorí Sa sarbán bagay a matkáp mi.</p>	<p>To (your) judgment, fellow-citizens and patrons, Is by us remitted our fate. If you have sympathy and care, Build our (intermediate) school. For anyhow, if we can study, Honor it is after all for the town. If we have knowledge to apply To all sorts of our necessities.</p>
--	---

3. *inoyon* stated to attribute (through lig. *n*?) the sense of "protecting" to the following "citizens"; exact meaning doubtful.  
*ipatodó*, stem *todó*, point out.  
*matkáp*, what is needed.

4

<p>Makapabereñg anay pà-sar tamó, No wantín babalí atrasado. Añggawán tamó yay cuarto grado Candidato a kipartido. Ta pà-nó kœt kasán eskwelawan Kasá gapón mapagadalan. No maseseg saráy kababalyán, Asikasóen ra komón a pagawán.</p>	<p>Apt to cause sorrow is our situation, If thus the town is backward. Our limit is the fourth grade, Just fitting us to vote for some political party. Because, if there is no school, There is really no place to study. If the townmates were energetic, They would graciously heed our desire.</p>
---	--

4. *makapabereñg*, stem *bereñg*, sorrow.  
*anay* (*ana* + lig. *y*) stated to correspond with Pañg. *la* (*lay, lan*) and to emphasize like this the predication.  
*wantín* (*wantí* + lig. *n*), thus, like this; same as Pañg. *onía* (*onían*).  
*atrasado* (Sp.), backward, retarded.  
*cuarto grado* (Sp.), fourth grade; altho all instruction in schools is now strictly given in English, the dialect prefers to give even school-terms the Spanish equivalent.  
*kipartido*, prefix *ki-* before Sp. 'partido,' party. This line was said to be a "covered hint" (Pañg. *pasiki*) at the way the next elections might go.  
*ta pà-nó*, because, corresponds with Tag. *at anó*, id.  
*gapó*, really; Pang. *gapó*, beginning, origin.  
*asikasóen*, what is heeded. Possibly derived from Sp. "hacer caso," to heed, pay attention;  
*komón*, same as in Pañg., where it forms subjunctives with optative meaning.

5

Siráy kababalyán a mamaya-  
man,

Após ra laye kasán makaadal,  
Pigaw no mabokudan ray

Pakinabañg sa kayamanan.

Tanoli, no mampagidap kamí  
na,

Syánsyá ta kiopà kamí konrá.

Kabtañgan ray sarbán matabá,

Ikomi balé anay terâ-terâ.

5

They, the rich townmates,  
Their aim is perhaps that none  
may study,

So that they alone are  
Profiting from their wealth.

Then, if we are hard up,  
We have thus to take jobs from  
them.

Their share is all the fat,  
But ours are only the remains.

5. *mabokudan*, stem *bokód*, solely, alone.

*pakinabañg*, stem *abañg*, gain, profit.

*kayamanan*, stem *yaman*, wealth.

*mampagidap*, stem *idap*, pain, distress.

*kiopà*, stem *opà*, pay of day-laborers.

6

Kasán raroman dawaten mi

Sa sarbán kababalyán mi

Si balín pagadalan mi,

Pigaw omandâ a babalí.

6

There is no other thing we ask  
for

From all our townmates,  
Than a building for us to  
study,

So that the town become pros-  
perous.

If our cries are not listened to  
by you,

We would rather prefer to be  
killed,

For, while we live in sufferance,  
There is no welfare for you to  
be expected.

No si tà-way mi kaí moyo in̄ga-  
ren,

Dalién kamí na cedóet a patién,

Ta no mabiay kamín paidapen,

Kasán kaabigan moyon ratê-  
en.

6. *dalién*, stem *dali*, go ahead.

*ratê-en*, stem *ratê*, reach, arrive.

## III

SAY PAKAULITAN KONAN PURO KABARUYAN, SA NIPAMONDAR RAN TAWON NŪ-NA, TAN SAY TONGTONG KONRAN NŪ-NAN TAWON A NAPASOKO RA LALOYNA KONRAN NAMASOKO KONRA.

Siráy nŭ-nan tawo nan puro Kabaruyan ayta sirá tan dikút babon lutà ono barás. Keet naisipan ran tawon cristiano a nañgibwát sa Bolinao a kinonñgkista ra yay nasaritá a puro Kabaruyan bana sa paniniñgkáp ran mawadwád a pañgalilaan ayep ra a baka, damolag tan kabayo.

Si kabesilya ra a namondár tan mamasoko, si Don Andalís a Kolayo, poón ran magapelyidon Valerio (Cacho a apilyedo ran sosoyot ana) a tawo sa lugar Puro, Isla de Santiago, sakup babalín Bolinao, a anak na ya ni akoláw Piñgol.

Say kamomolá nan dinooñgan tan pinondarán ay si lugar Dolawan. Siráy naye kona à-nak na sirán Kalikdán, siráyti si Godyo a Puereñg, si José a Porot, si Cenón a Tabayag, tan si Tomás a Taklobo; tan abáw sirá et a tononombók a tawo konrá. Say ginawá rad' táw nin nasaritá a Andalís a Kolayo namagawá ya nin kodús bà-yó nayá nipà-deñg tan tampór nogut ya sa Bolinao tan kinombidá ra yay padi ta nipabinyagán na yay kodús. Pinañgaranan na yay lugar nin Dolawan bana ta nibana konán siín a tiempo a abáw siráy manók-manók a dolaw tan say nikwá na nin patrón konán siín a lugar, San Miguél.

Sin nayadi ray nayti ginawá nibayat na siráy raro-man kalalamô na ni Andalís a Kolayo tan nibwát yay naéet a namontán sakalakón lugar keet napontá yay nasaritá a lugar Karót. Pinañgaranan na yaytin lugar a Karót bana ta abáw a nadomog nan karót sin sain a maikabiay no magkorañg siráy na sa kabiayan.

Siráy naye kona, si Hosép a Paut, si Cenón a Tabayag, tan si Tomás a Taklobo, nitoloy nay lalakó a namaytán keet nadomog nay kà-bawan boboñga tan pinañgaranan na yaytin lugar Kabuñgaan, barrion Kabuñgan sawanín. Bà-yó ya sinomobli sa Karót tan namà-deñg

## III

THE STORY ABOUT THE ISLAND KABARUYAN, ABOUT THE SETTLEMENT OF THE FIRST PEOPLE, AND THE STORY OF THE PRIMITIVE PEOPLE WHO WERE CONQUERED, AND ESPECIALLY OF THEIR CONQUERORS.

The first people of the island Kabaruyan were Aetas [Negritos] and evil spirits called "dikut babon lutà" [lit. "herbs on the earth"]. And it was thought by Christians from Bolinao to conquer the said island Kabaruyan because they wanted to find a wide grassy plain as breeding ground for their animals, such as cattle, carabaos and horses.

Their chief, who was founder and conqueror, was Don Andres Kolayo, the progenitor of those named Valerio (whose descendants have now the family-name Cacho), a man from the place Puro, Island of Santiago, jurisdiction of the town Bolinao, and a son of old woman Piñgol ["one-eared"].

As to the first landing and settlement of theirs it was the place Dolawan. Those who went with him were the sons of Kalikdán; these were Godyo Puereñg, José Porot, Cenón Tabayag, and Tomás Taklobo, and there were plenty of people who followed them. What the said Andalís there did was that he ordered a cross made, then planted it, and immediately went back to Bolinao and invited the Padre to consecrate the cross. He named the place Dolawan, because it happened just at that time that there were many birds called "dolaw"; and as regards the patron saint chosen by him for that place it was San Miguél.

When this was finished by him, Andalís [Andres] Kolayo left some of his companions and started again going to another place and arrived at the locality called Karót. He named this place Karót because he found plenty of karót [there], which [plant] can be used as food at times when food-stuffs are running short.

Those who went with him were José Paut, Cenón Tabayag, and Tomás Taklobo; they continued their way to the east and met a place of many betle-nuts and named this place Kabuñgaan, now the barrio Kabuñgan. He then returned to Karót and planted a cross and he had

35 yan kodús tan nipabinyagán na ya a sakop nay Kabunḡaan. Si patrón níkwá na, Santa Lucia sa lugar Karót.

Kcet kapiḡapán sin mayadi ya ipà-deng a kodús nan Karót, rinomatê a naḡibwát sa Bolinao a gangán tan patandá a siráy aw-ayep galatén sirán tampór sa Puro  
40 Kabaruyan tan irepay sirán isoblí sa Bolinao ta pigaw kaí sirá makakalap ikabiáy ray Inḡlés ta sin sain kapresán gulo sa Ibali ta pakisamsamen ray oráy maḡibwát sa gamét ran kakastila. Kanyá tampór rinomipay yay na a awít na siráy baka, damolag, tan kabayo

45 na a namontá ya sa panropán a napaḡaranan Kolayo sa sakup Bolinao.

Ruay taón nan kaí nisoblí sa Kabaruyan sa lelég guló nin kakastila tan siráy Inḡlés. Sa loób nin ruay taón nialis-alis ya sa kamainanan lugar a kalalamô na siráy  
50 pastór na tan siráy miasawan Domiḡgon Hosepa, masikén Diego a Kokoyonḡen tan si masikén Antonion Aḡes a say lugar a inalis-alisan ra sa lugar Kobasan tan Tara a naḡmola sirán maḡga tan boḡga. Sin narḡgé na a matinek anay guló tan kasáy nan maḡgom a Inḡlés

55 sa oráy ran kakastila sinomoblí ya sa Puro Kabaruyan awít na siráy baka na, damolag tan kabayo wanín et konran pastór na tan kalalamô na.

Sin rinomatê ya sa Kabaruyan ni-entregá na siráy baka, damolag, kabayo tan pastór wanín et konrán kalalamô na konán anak na a si Valerio Nicolás a Kolayo  
60 ta nogut ya yapó sa Bolinao tan ni-ikap ya sa lugar Gi-gi tan nimola yan tanaman bà-yó ya pinaí-babali.

Kcet sin nakapainawa yay na nibwát ya a namontán Kabaruyan bà-yó ya tinomarós sa sayáy lugar a awít na  
65 sará si masikén Cenón a Tabayag, si masikén Kintín a Bargas tan Pablo a Tabayag. Konán sitín lugar ginomawá sirán kodús ta piná-diḡgan ra ya ta rabáy ran iwaksíl a kapalionan nan sitín lugar. Kanyá tampór ra yan nipabenditawan tan pinaḡaranan ya yaytín lugar  
70 nin Tondól, bana ta siráy barás ití konán sitín lugar mabayani sirá, ta tokdolén na siráy tawon mabansagán ra ta itodó na sirá tamô nin tamodó ra.

(35) it consecrated as a part of Kabunḡaan: The patroness he selected for Karót was Santa Lucia.

In the meantime, after the cross was planted, there arrived an order and news emanating from Bolinao [to the effect] that the animals should be taken at once from

(40) Kabaruyan island and be returned across the water to Bolinao, so that the English could not get their provisions, for during this time there was trouble in Manila, the aim [of the English] being to wrest the governmental control from the hands of the Spaniards. This is why he immediately left taking along his cattle, karabaws,  
(45) and horses, and directed himself westward to a place called Kolayo, a part of Bolinao.

For two years he did not return to Kabaruyan during the war between the Spaniards and the English. During these two years he wandered from place to place with  
(50) his herdsmen and the couple Domingo and Josefa and the old man Diego Kokoyonḡen and old Antonio Aḡes and the places where they wandered were Kobasan and Tara, in which they planted mangos and betle-nuts. When he heard that the conflict was already settled, because there were no more Englishmen to usurp the  
(55) rule of the Spaniards, he returned to Kabaruyan with his cows, karabaws, and horses, and also with his herdsmen and companions.

When he arrived at Kabaruyan he entrusted his cows, karabaws, horses and herdsmen, as well as their companions to his son Valerio Nicolas Kolayo, for he went  
(60) back, as a first thing, to Bolinao, and staid at a place Gi-gi, making some plantings before he removed to the town.

But when he had taken a rest, he left for Kabaruyan and [there] proceeded to a certain place, taking with  
(65) him old man Cenón Tabayag, old Quintin Vargas, and Pablo Tabayag. In this place they made a cross and put it up from their desire to free this place from being haunted. Therefore they had it at once consecrated and

(70) they named that place Tondól, because the spirits here in this place were very bold, inasmuch as they pricked the persons whom they happened to meet by just pointing their forefinger at them.

Si padi niaboroy na a si nikwán patrón San Juan Evangelista ta sitín lugar mapalión yay naúd koet rabáy na sirán silinen a dikút babon lutà o barás ta pigaw maintalek ni masikén Andalís tan siráy kalalamô nan mandomeldél.

Say lugar Sablig siráy pinañgonkista na a sinoyò ni masikén Andalís a Kolayo rua sirá katawo: masikén Tomás á Taklobo tan Juan a Pakasiát. Koet bana ta sa tawtanaytáy a dalandalanen ra masiadon palión laloyna sin romatê sirá sa sayáy lugar a abaw a tawtanaytáy tan inmalog pinasyán bayani ran dikút babon lutà o barás. Kanyá sarbá ra nin lawlaki laloyna konrán kabisilya

85 barañg lomalakó sirá ni-arms a saká alawitwit ray sabli nin matadém tan masoróy a no masagid tamô markapasána. Kanyá sitín lugar a masyadon palión pinañgaranan yan Sablig.\*

Piná-deñgan ra yan kodús tan nipabenditawan ra ya. Koet sin kai sirá makapitotonó sa ikwá ran patrón bayó kai yadsén nibana si masikén Andalís a Kolayo, si anak na a si Valério Nicolás a Kolayo a kabesán poerés sa babalin Bolinao a main sakup sa Puro Kabaruyan siáy kiná-ran nanonoñg konrá. Nikonsaba sa konrán mamondár a mañg a pio-umon tan lawas egét oksoy sa mañg a kaisipan. Nikonsaba naét a say ikwá ran patrón konán sin a lugar ta masyadon mapalión ya si mablin Virgen Señora del Rosario. Bana ta reñgê ra tan ni-comunán rayay naytín konsaba konrá, pinaabig ran kasán swawi a inogut a padi ta nipabenditawan ra ya. Sin romatê yay padi si namagtoloyan ra kona poón nan mañga sa lugar Taklobo sa botláy lalawak.

Balé siráy nasoyo a namondár sa roñgos nan Kabaruyan sa domná sa baytan Sablig, sa robari Kapayawan, 105 sirá si Nicolás a Otayot tan Pablo Ampigan. Sin romatê sirá konán sitín roñgos sa abay baybay, main nagransón tawo a naratê ra. Koet inosisa tan inopapet ray nipagkamain nadsén, koet say wan ran inombat sa saritá ran diri: "Umay kam laeñg." Koet say nipakar-

\* Sablig was said to be the name of a plant.

The Padre consented to put San Juan Evangelista as patron, because this place was actually haunted and he (75) wished to drive out the evil spirits or dwarfs, so that old man Andalís and his companions would be encouraged to go forward.

In the locality Sablig those whom old man Andalís Kolayo appointed as headmen were two persons: old Juan (80) Tomás Taklobo and Juan Pakasiát. And, as the trails they had to pass over were very much haunted, especially when they reached a place of many crossing trails and wide low-lying fields where the spirits or dwarfs were exceedingly bold, therefore all of the men especially the chiefs, whenever they walked, armed themselves, girding themselves with their sharp pointed (85) swords which, when just touching something, would cut it off. So this much haunted place was called Sablig.

They erected a cross and had it consecrated. But when (90) they could not agree as to the appointment of a patron saint, old man Andalís Kolayo just happening to be absent, his son Valério Nicolás, the then "cabeza" at the town Bolinao, which had jurisdiction over the island Kabaruyan, was called in to make them agree. He advised (95) them to establish good harmony and a continuous strong coöperation along good lines of procedure. He also advised them, because of the haunted condition of the place, to adopt as patroness the Holy Virgen Nuestra Señora del Rosario. Since they took heed of and agreed (100) to this advice given them, they considered it best, without any contradiction, to send for the priest to consecrate the place. Upon arrival of the Padre he was welcomed at the stem of a mango tree at the place called Taklobo, in the middle of a wide plain. But those who were appointed to establish a settlement at the promontory of Kabaruyan Island, at a place east of Sablig, opposite (105) Kabayawan, were Nicolás Otayot and Pablo Ampigan. When they arrived at this promontory near the sea, there were encountered by them persons who had made an encampment. And when asked, and asked repeatedly, how they came to be there, they answered in their own [Iloko]

110 ñgè ni masikén Kolás a Otayot: "May ka laeñg," kanyâ  
sitín lugár pinañgaranan rayan Makalaeng.

Si masikén Andalís a Kolayo namili yan lugár a nidoy-  
poán tan nisaliñgkokoñgan nin aw-alog a maóng a pi-  
molawan parí, tan adaní sa abay ta-aw a pisaliponñponñgan  
115 nan ranóm. Sitín lugár a pinasyán andâ siy nañgipon-  
darán na konán anak na a si Valerio Nicolás.

Sitín lugár pinañgaranan na yan Awili bana sa nika-  
togyúp alog na tan nilenegán ran sayáy pari a sayáy  
barañgay.

120 Sa lugár a Santa Rita nipondar na siráy toloy maóng  
a lawlaki ni masikén Andalís a Kolayo. Siráy ti naka-  
gawá sirán makaparmay a soblañgan sa sayáy bansál sa  
babalí, koet nakaadi sirá sa konvento; sin deken na sirá  
bayo na sirá nipaater koni masikén Andalís a Kolayo sa  
125 Puro Kabaruyan. Say kaoñgan ran siráy tin tolo a law-  
laki si sayá magoroy nan sornañg a sisasañgan kawayan  
a nisarañgasañg sa sawsañgan alalakin kayo. Si sayá  
magawá nan alsawen tan awiten a sanbaár a parín siru-  
ruan salóp a sakatan-áy. Koet si ikatio, loksoon nay  
130 piton dipá.

Siráy tin tolo katawon mañañgar a lawlaki, siráy aw-  
anak ra namadeñg sirán kodús sa konrán toloy lugár:  
Santa Rita, San Nicolás tan Maloñg-Awág. Saráy tawo  
sa San Nicolás: Tásio tan Silvéron Cruspedo a Borik,  
135 Mateo a Laygek, Don Mateo Silvério; sa Maloñg: Juana  
a Edro Martin a Kimat, laki nan Mariano a Losoñg, tan  
si Polokon a Apolot.

Sin inmabáw a anay barañgay nin tawo, nisisimbát si-  
ráy olo-oloen ta ginawá ra yay nan babalí tan inaboruyan  
140 Gobierno a nag-ín yan babalí tan nikisiy anay pagka-  
ikon tan pagbokobokod nan mañgibwát sa ina nan Bo-  
linao sín 12 de Noviembre nan taón 1852. Koet si  
nù-nan namadeñgan babalí sa centro a napañgaranan  
sawanín Namagbagán.

(110) dialect: "We only came here." But by the way how old  
-so namá Kolás Otayot heard it, it was "You come only,"  
small and thus this place was called Makalaeng. <sup>malban</sup>  
olname The old Andalís Kolayo selected a place which was shel-  
tered by mountains and surrounded by low-lying fields  
was good for planting rice and near the sea where the tide  
(115) flows up and down. This place of great beauty it was,  
in which he established his son Valerio Nicolás. This  
place was named Awili on account of the contiguity of  
the low-lying fields and it was settled by the fathers of  
the barañgay.

(120) To the place Santa Rita old Andalís Kolayo sent three  
valiant men. These created a disgraceful disturbance  
at a marriage feast in the town, but they were able  
to take refuge in the house of the parish-priest and  
when they were caught afterwards, they were sent to

(125) Andalís Kolayo in Kabaruyan Island. The strongest  
among these three men was the one who could pull a  
bamboo with all its branches squeezing it across through  
the branches of big trees. The other could lift up and  
carry one 'baár' of rice of which each 'katan-áy' con-  
tained two "gantas." And the third man's leap was

(130) seven fathoms.

The sons of these three famous men erected a cross in  
their three places of Santa Rita, San Nicolás, and Ma-  
loñg-Awag. The people in San Nicolás were Tásio and  
(135) Silverio Cruspedo Borik, Mateo Laygek, Don Mateo Sil-  
vério; in Maloñg: Juana [and her husband] Edro Martin  
Kimat, grandfather of Mariano Losoñg, and Polokon  
Apolot.

When the people of the barañgay became numerous  
the headmen conferred and constituted it into a town,  
(140) and the Government consented that it become a town,  
and it was then made separate in the matter of possess-  
ing and it stood alone from its mother Bolinao on  
November 12, 1852. And the first place where the town  
was established, was the center of the place now called  
Namagbagán.

\* Reference is made to bundles of rice on the stalk of different sizes.

145 Say nūnan oray, absoluto tan si nūnan nagoray, Don  
 Domingo Cacho, sa babalín Anda, tan si primeron na-  
 padian ya sin taón 1859 [san ribo, walón yasot, liman  
 polo; tan siam] a si nūnan kura, si padi Fernando  
 Blanco. Labin apat a taón bayo ya niayalis sa babalí  
 150 sa lugar sisirongan baka; kapitán pcerós tan siay  
 nangiyalis, Don Gregorio Cacho.  
 Inoksoy yaytin ulit nangibwát sa orihinal

- (145) The first government in the town of Anda was "ab-  
 soluto," and the first ruler was Don Domingo Cacho,  
 and the first parish was [created] in the year 1859, the  
 first parish-priest being Father Fernando Blanco. Four-  
 teen years after that the town was transferred to the  
 (150) sheltering place for cattle, and he who transferred it was  
 Don Gregorio Cacho, at the time "Kapitán actual."

This story is compiled and arranged from the original.

## GRAMMATICAL NOTES

## ON PARTICLES OF RELATION

§1. As in Pañg., the topic of a discourse is pointed out in Bol. with the help of the particle *say* heading the sentence; e. g.

*say ginawá ra nin nasarítá a Andalis a Kolayo namagawá ya*  
*nin kótáá,* what the said Andres Kolayo did was that he  
 had a cross made (III, 16);

*say wa'na ni baká,* what the monkey said was . . . (I, 9)

The stress laid upon the subject introduced by *say* in these examples is less notable in other cases where *say* appears worn down to the value of ordinary English "the," as in the title of Text III, and in simple declarative sentences, as for instance.

*say busat ko, sondalo,* my brother is a soldier.

If used, on the other hand, to indicate a place, its demonstrative character becomes quite evident:

*say lugár Sablig . . .* regarding the place Sablig, or: in the place Sablig (III, 78).

*Say* introducing the subject often finds its complement in *ay* introducing the predicate, e. g.

*say balí ko ay daykleñg ya,* my house is small,

but equally frequent seem to be the cases where the predicative force is left to be brought about by the postponed *ya* it:

*say balí ko, daykleñg ya,* lit. "the house mine, small it."

Now, with the predicate opening it, this sentence would run:

*daykleñg yay balí ko,* lit. "small it the house mine,"

where the noun *balí* is seen directly preceded by an enclitic *y* attached to the pronominal form *ya* just mentioned. Herefrom it becomes fairly evident that a similar juxtaposition is present in the case of *say*, which dissolves itself into *y*, article for the following noun, and *sa*, a demonstrative particle, both of which elements find their correspondencies in other Fil. languages. The texts, besides, furnish sufficient instances for the enclitic article in question; it occurs there frequently leaning back on the possessive pronouns *ko* and *mo*, and on the pronouns for "they," *sará* and *sirá*; e. g.

*rabáy-rabáy koy agtáy mo,* I greatly desire your liver (I, 5);

*ikwá moy gamat mo,* place your fingers (I, 10);

*saráy kawayan omatacet sará,* they the bamboos creaked (I, 8) (or: as for the bamboos they creaked);

*siráy kababalyán a mamayaman,* they the rich townmates (II, 5).

It is interesting, moreover, to see the same combination of a pronominal particle of predicative force with an article as in Bol. *yay* taking place in the neighboring dialect Iloko. Using an example from Williams' "Grammatische Skizze der Ilokano Sprache" (p. 60), in:

*ti mayanak iti lasag, isú-t lasag,* quod natum est ex carne, caro est,

we have in *isu-t* a contraction of the article *tí* with the pronoun of the third P. S. *isú*, which is used also affirmatively.

The occurrence of Bol. enclitic *y* in the apparent function of a ligature is mentioned further on in §5.

§2. Another article, stated to be more definite than *say*, is *si*, which occurs not only as the well-known Fil. personal article—thus repeatedly in Text III—but also before ordinary nouns, e. g., in Text III *si lugár Dolawan*, the place Dolawan; *si patrón níkwá na*, the patron appointed by him; in Text II *si tá-way mí*, our cries.

§3. An associative relation is expressed by *nan*, *nin*, and, before names of persons, by *ni*:

*sa pandáel nan ilog,* under the bank of a river (I, 1);

*andá nan sirí,* fairness of the wind (I, 8);

*maningkáp nin kanén na,* searcher of his food (I, 2);

*ampamantáy nin órgano-ni adí,* guardian of the king's organ (I, 9);

*anak ni akoláw Piñgol,* son of old woman Piñgol (III, 10).

Although *nan* and *nin* occur used alternatively—thus in *botláy nan ilog* (I, 4) and *botláy nin ilog* (I, 5)—a distinction between the two forms would seem to be made by other speakers which must be left to further study.

§4. A demonstrative (locative) relation is expressed by *sa* already mentioned above. E. g.:

*sa robarí nan ilog,* on the other side of the river (I, 2);

*sa serbisyo mo,* for your service (I, 6);

*sa tarapítsyan,* at the sugar-cane press (I, 12).

For the particle used to express this relation in connection with pronouns see under §9.

§5. The attributive relation characterized in Fil. languages by certain particles called "ligazones" i. e. ligatures, counts in Bol., similarly to Pañg., with the particle *-n* after vocalic finals, and the particle *a* used mostly after closed syllables. E. g.

*sa raruman awro,* at some other day (I, 3; *ruma*, other);

*pinasyán andá,* thorough pleasure (I, 4; *pasyá*, thoroughness);

*si masakén Antonion Anñes,* old man Antonio the snuffler (III, 51);

*siray miasawa Dominggon Hosepa,* the spouses Domingo and Josefa (III, 50);

*maabig a bokláe,* good morning (I, 8);

*si baká a tinmekrã,* Mr. Monkey who was sitting (I, 8);

*kababalyán a mamayaman,* rich townmates (II, 5);

*masikén Tomás a Taklobo,* old man Tomás Taklobo (III, 79).

After open syllables *a* appears in:

*mabayani a bu-aya,* brave crocodile (I, title);

*masikén Diego a Kokoyonñen,* old man Diego Kokoyonñen (III, 51).



As another ligature there presents itself the particle *y* in such instances as:

*rinnoran yay na si bakà* the monkey was riding already (I, 4);

*sa bottáy nin rudáy kawayan*, between two bamboos (I, 10); while of ligature *-n* it was stated that it could be replaced by *nin* in cases like:

*sa dantin kawayan*, in the proximity of the bamboos (I, 8), alternative: *sa danti nin kawayan*;

*asawan babayi*, female spouse, alternative: *asawa nin babayi*.

#### ON FORMS EXPRESSING PLURALITY

§6. The general sense of a statement is often left to give the noun character of a plural; e. g.

*timmekrà sa dantin kawayan*, sitting near bamboos (I, 8);

*panrabáy nan konà*, fond of fishes (I, 13);

or the sense of plurality is imparted to the noun by an accompanying word, as in:

*saráy kawayan*, they the bamboos (I, 8);

*pà-sár min askwela*, our situation as pupils (II, 1);

*idaan ra nin tawo*, lying-down place of persons.

The texts show the formation of the plural of nouns achieved by partial or complete reduplication in:

*balí*, house, *babalí*, town (II, 6, 1);

*boboŋga* (III, 32) from *boŋga*, Areca catechu;

*kakastila* (III, 43) from *kastila*, Spaniard;

*terà-terà*, remains (II, 5);

*dalan-dalanen*, objects of passing (III, 81);

and there is the typical Sambali plural prefix (infix) *aw-* (*-aw-*) used in:

*aw-alog*, low-lying fields (III, 113), from Sing. *alog*;

*aw-anak*, children (II, 2), from *anak*, child;

*lawlaki*, men (III, 121) from *laki*, man;

*tawtanaytay*, trails (III, 81) from *tanaytay*, trail;

the last two examples showing *aw* as infix behind the reduplicated last two examples showing *aw* as infix behind the reduplicated first consonant of the stem. Probably thru a contraction of *aw* Bolinao uses instead of this also *o*, saying *o-ayep* for *aw-ayep*, animals, *o-anak* for *aw-anak*, children. Regarding this last example it was, however, pointed out that, while *aw-anak* or *o-anak nan* (or: *nin*) *babalí*, all children of the town, was correct, in addressing a father to say 'all your children' the form *à-nak mo* should be used, supposedly a shortening of \**aanak*.

#### ON PRONOUNS

§7. The possession of an emphatic and a non-emphatic form for the personal pronoun would show Bol. to belong to the northern group of Fil. languages established by Blake (Contrib. to Phil. Grammar, p. 327). Taking the sentence 'As for me, I am poor (Span. 'pobre')',

and using the same context for all forms of the personal pronoun, we have:

First P. S. *siko*, *pobre akó*. First P. Pl. excl. *sikami*, *pobre kami*.

Second P. S. *sika*, *pobre ka*. First P. Pl. incl. *sitamo*, *pobre atamo*.

Third P. S. *sia*, *pobre*. Second P. Pl. *sikamo*, *pobre kamo*.

Dual *sita*, *pobre atá*. Third P. Pl. *sirá* (or: *sará*) *pobre*.

In the third P. S. and Pl. the postpositive *ya*, resp. *sirá* could be added, but in such sentences as here given they are as a rule left out.

For *akó* also *ko* is sometimes used; thus in:

*Makó ka?* Do you go?—*O, makó ko*, Yes, I go.

In an honorific sense *sirá* is used also respecting single persons:

*Aní wa na ni nanay mo?*—What does your mother say?

*Tà-wan sirá.*—I do not know as to her.

§8. The possessive pronouns are shown in the following synopsis in which *balí*, house, denotes the object possessed:

First P. S. *balí ko*. First P. Pl. excl. *balí mi*.

Second P. S. *balí mo*. Second P. Pl. incl. *balí tamó*.

Third P. S. *balí na*. Second P. Pl. *balí moyo*.

Dual *balí ta*. Third P. Pl. *balí ra*.

For *mo* occasionally *ma* is heard, as in: *Ibí ma yayití*, Give (me) this. Whenever *ko* would come to precede *ka*, thou, it is changed to *ta*, e.g. *no maakit ta ka*, if I shall see you (I, 11). As seen above, the dropping of the vowel of *ko* and *mo*, and use of the remaining consonant as an enclitic to nouns with vocalic ending, typical peculiarity of dialects of northern Luzon, is not practiced in Bol. A noteworthy feature is the seemingly superfluous use of the possessive pronoun of the third person between object possessed and possessor in addition to the associative form of the article for the latter, as in:

*yay gamét na ni bu-aya*, the fingers of the crocodile (I, 11);

*say wa na ni bakà*, the say of the monkey (I, 9);

where *gamét na* and *wá na* are literally "fingers his" and "say his." A similar instance of *ra*, used in honorific sense (cf. §7) in alluding to a single person is:

*say ginawà ra nin Andalis a Kolayo*, lit. 'that which was the deed his of Andres Kolayo.'

§9. Demonstrative pronouns are *siti*, this, *sín*, that, and *sitaw*, yon. Personal pronouns are placed in a demonstrative relation by prefixing the forms listed in §8 with *ko-*, respectively *kon-*, thus:

<i>konko</i>	<i>kona</i>	<i>komá</i>	<i>kómoyo</i>
<i>komó</i>	<i>konta</i>	<i>kontamo</i>	<i>konrá</i>

Examples of such forms are found in I, 5, 6, II, 5, III, 76, 80. To judge from the form *koni* in *kinmadani si bu-aya koni bakà*, the crocodile went near to the monkey (I, 8), and *konán* 'about', occurring repeatedly in III, the prefix *ko-* (*kon-*) combines also with other particles to give them demonstrative force.

## SOME EXAMPLES OF DIFFERENT CLASSES OF SENTENCES

## §10. (a) Negative:

*Kaí ko ya mà-kít a bu-aya*—I can not see the crocodile.

*Kaí ka ampagirgo nin pagò*—You are not speaking the truth.

*Siín a ilog ambó yan ararem*—That river is not deep.

*Ambó yay tin busat ko no kaí kapi-sà ko*—He is not my brother, but my cousin.

## (b) Mandatory:

*Makó ka!*—Go!

*Igargar mo!*—Say it aloud!

*Malayó ka ta ibí ma ití kona!*—Run and give this to him!

## (c) Prohibitive:

*Andí ka komadayó!*—Do not go away!

*Andí ka lomalakó nin masiglat*—Do not walk so fast.

*Andí may (or: moy) ti kalapen a libro no kaí sitáw sisaya*—Do not take this book but that one.

## (d) Precative:

*Andí ka kadí magargar*—Kindly do not speak loud (*kadí* conveys a friendly urge, same as Pañg. *karí*).

*Andí mo ko komón lakwanán*—I wish you would not leave me (the optative is here constituted by *komón*).

## (e) Interrogative:

*Main tinapay?*—Is there bread? *Kasán tinapay?*—There is no bread.

*Main kasi nin tinapay?*—Is there perchance some bread?—*Kasán*—None.

*Say balí na, alaki ya pará?*—His house, is it perhaps big? (or, with predicate preceding: *Alaki ya paráy balí na?*—*O, alaki ya*, Yes, it is big.

*Naakit mo ya pará?*—Have you seen him perhaps? *Kaí ko ya naakit*—I have not seen him.

*Nibarità na pará komó?*—Did he tell it to you? *Kaí òt*—Not yet.

*Ampag masakít ya òt pará?*—Is he still sick? *Kaí na, in-mandà yay na*—No more, he is already reestablished.

*Tandà mo pará no si-no libro yay ti?*—Do you know perhaps whose book this is? *Kaí ko tandà*—I do not know.